

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----044228 101338Z /50

O 101301Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0194  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 18498

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK  
SUBJECT: "GUARDIAN" ARTICLE ON ALLEGED ANGLO-AMERICAN  
DIFFERENCES OVER CARVER MISSION

1. SUMMARY: NOVEMBER 10 "GUARDIAN" CARRIES ARTICLE  
BY JAMES MACMANUS ALLEGING US DISCONTENT WITH LORD  
CARVER'S ROLE IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT INITIA-  
TIVE. IF QUERIED BY PRESS, FCO PLANS TO DENY THAT  
THERE IS ANY ANGLO-AMERICAN RIFT. WE AND FCO URGE  
THAT DEPT DO THE SAME. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE BY JAMES MACMANUS  
IN NOV. 6 "GUARDIAN" UNDER SALISBURY DATELINE (ADDRESSEES  
WILL RECALL THAT MACMANUS ALSO AUTHORED THE "GUARDIAN"  
ARTICLE CLAIMING THAT RAY SEITZ WAS A "SENIOR OFFICIAL  
OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY" - LONDON 18347 ).  
BEGIN TEXT: FIELD MARSHAL LORD CARVER RETURNED TO  
LONDON YESTERDAY AFTER AN EIGHT-DAY MISSION TO AFRICA  
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WHICH HAS EXPOSED TACTICAL DIFFERENCES TOWARD A RHO-  
DESIAN SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN  
GOVERNMENTS AND WHICH HAS PROVIDED NO CLEAR PATH TO  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IN  
SALISBURY.

BRITISH OFFICIALS HAD NOT LOOKED FOR A DRAMATIC  
BREAKTHROUGH FROM THE TRIP, BUT NEITHER DID ANYONE

EXPECT THE STIFFENING RESISTANCE TO BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OLAN AMONG ALL THE PARTIES. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALLIANCE CHALLENGED THE POWERS VESTED IN LORD CARVER'S POTENTIAL ROLE OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE SMITH REGIME REJECTED THE EMPHASIS ON A CEASE-FIRE BEFORE THE FORMULATION OF A CONSTITUTION, AND THE ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY DISMISSED THE IDEA THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD PRECEDE INDEPENDENCE.

AMERICAN OFFICIALS REPORTEDLY FEEL THAT THE DECISION TO PLACE LORD CARVER IN CHARGE OF THE OPENING ROUND OF TALKS HAS BEEN A DISASTROUS ERROR. EVEN BRITISH SOURCES CONCEDED THAT HE LACKS THE NECESSARY POLITICAL GRASP AND NEGOTIATING SKILLS. HE IS SAID TO BE ABRUPT AND ABRASIVE IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS, A REFLECTION OF A DIRECT MILITARY MANNER RATHER THAN ANY DELIBERATE ATTEMPT AT RUDENESS.

THERE IS ALSO DISQUIET THAT THE FIELD MARSHAL APPEARS LESS THAN HAPPY WITH THE CONCEPT OF A NEW ZIMBABWE ARMY "BASED ON" THE GUERRILLA LIBERATION FORCES.

THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AMERICAN CRITICISM OF THE TIMING OF THE INITIATIVE, ALTHOUGH THERE IS A GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THERE IS NEVER GOING TO BE AN OPTIMUM TIME FOR NEGOTIATIONS. EITHER MR. SMITH WILL FEEL STRONG ENOUGH TO REACT WITH COOLNESS, OR HIS REGIME WILL HAVE WEAKENED TO THE POINT WHERE THE NATIONALIST

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ARMIES WILL IGNORE THE DEMAND FOR ELECTIONS AND PUSH FOR OUTRIGHT POWER.

THESE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO CO-SPONSORS ARE NOT SERIOUS TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY WILL IMPAIR COOPERATION. THE DIFFERENCES ESSENTIALLY SPRING FROM DIFFERENT RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE US UNOFFICIAL VIEW IS THAT WHITEHALL IS NOW SO DESPERATE TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS THAT ITS OFFICIALS HAVE BECOME DANGEROUSLY ATTACHED TO THE INSTALLATION IN POWER OF MR. NKOMO SIMPLY BECAUSE HE HAS ASSEMBLED A PORTFOLIO OF POWERFUL SUPPORTERS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.

BUT MR. NKOMO DOES NOT COMMAND MAJORITY AFRICAN SUPPORT INSIDE RHODESIA, AND THERE IS A FEELING THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE FACES A DILEMMA BY PRIVATELY BACKING MR. NKOMO AND PUBLICLY CALLING FOR PRE-INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAS SHIFTED GROUND REMARKABLY SINCE PUBLICATION OF THE PEACE PLAN IN SEPTEMBER. A CAUTIOUS WELCOME THEN HAS BECOME A VIRTUAL DEMAND THAT A CORNERSTONE OF THE PROPOSALS-FREE ELECTIONS-BE DROPPED UNTIL POWER IS TRANSFERRED UNCONDITIONALLY TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. BY THE FRONT, PRESIDENT KAUNDA MEANS

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-----043828 101339Z /42

O 101301Z NOV 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 18498

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OF COURSE MR. NKOMO WHOSE ALLIANCE WITH MR. MUGABE SEEMS  
VIRTUALLY A MATTER OF HISTORY.

LITTLE WONDER THAT LORD CARVER, STUCK WITH A NON-  
NEGOTIABLE PLAN, REMARKED GLOOMILY IN LUSAKA ON TUESDAY:  
"WE ARE NOT MUCH CLOSER TO A CEASEFIRE."

IF ANYTHING, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE IN-  
CREASINGLY DISENCHANTED US ADMINISTRATION ARE AS FAR  
AWAY FROM THEIR VERSION OF A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AS  
EVER. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT MAJORITY RULE IS NOT  
APPROACHING WITH SPEED IN THE TERRITORY.

IN THE COMING PERIOD OF UNLIKELY ALLIANCES AND  
DEVIOUS DIPLOMACY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, REGIONAL FORCES  
MAY SUPERSEDE THE POWERS WIELDED BY BRITAIN AND  
AMERICA ON THE RHODESIAN ISSUE. END TEXT.

3. FCO (SPENCER - RHODESIA DEPARTMENT) IS BAFFLED AND  
CONCERNED BY THIS APPARENT ATTEMPT TO DRIVE A WEDGE  
BETWEEN THE US AND THE UK. FCO FEELS IT WILL HAVE TO  
COMMENT ON THIS ISSUE AT TODAY'S MID-DAY PRESS BRIEFING;  
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FCO PLANS TO REAFFIRM ANGLO-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ON RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AND TO DENY ANY KNOWLEDGE OF MAJOR DIFFERENCES. AS MACMANUS VAGUELY CITES "AMERICAN OFFICIALS" AS HIS SOURCE, EMBASSY AND FCO BELIEVE THAT A SIMILAR STATEMENT FROM WASHINGTON WOULD BE VERY DESIRABLE IN REFUTING THE THRUST OF THE "GUARDIAN" ARTICLE.

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## Message Attributes

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